

# **EXHIBIT 77**

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5 SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE THE  
6 JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL,  
7 U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
8 WASHINGTON, D.C.

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12 INTERVIEW OF: BRAD RAFFENSPERGER

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16 Tuesday, November 30, 2021

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18 Washington, D.C.

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21 The interview in the above matter was held in Room 4480, O'Neill House Office  
22 Building, commencing at 10:01 a.m.

23 Present: Representatives Schiff, Lofgren, Raskin, Aguilar, Cheney, and Kinzinger.

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2 Appearances:

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6 For the SELECT COMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE

7 THE JANUARY 6TH ATTACK ON THE U.S. CAPITOL:

8 [REDACTED] CHIEF INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

9 [REDACTED] PROFESSIONAL STAFF

10 [REDACTED] CHIEF CLERK

11 [REDACTED] INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

12 [REDACTED] SENIOR INVESTIGATIVE COUNSEL

13 AND OF COUNSEL TO THE VICE CHAIR

14 [REDACTED] DETAILEE

15 [REDACTED] STAFF ASSOCIATE

16 [REDACTED] CHIEF ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICER

17 [REDACTED] RESEARCHER

18

19 For the OFFICE OF GEORGIA SECRETARY OF STATE:

20 JACKSON R. SHARMAN, III

21 ROBERT JAY SEWELL

22 GIL HUMES, SECURITY FOR MR. RAFFENSPERGER

1 EXAMINATION

2 BY [REDACTED]:

3 Q You are currently the secretary of state of Georgia, correct?

4 A Correct.

5 Q And when did you get sworn into that position?

6 A January 2019.

7 Q And when does your current term end?

8 A January 2023.

9 Q And you're also a licensed professional engineer?

10 A Correct.

11 Q Okay. And are you also currently the owner and CEO of Tendon Systems?

12 A Yes.

13 Q And how long have you had that position?

14 A Since its inception.

15 Q Which was roughly when?

16 A Roughly 2007.

17 Q Okay. Could you just in very general terms describe what the roles and  
18 responsibilities are for the secretary of state in Georgia?

19 A The secretary of state is charged with oversight for corporations, securities,  
20 charities, and professional licensing, and then obviously elections. And then we have  
21 some organizations that are administratively attached to us, but we don't have really  
22 oversight of those.

23 Q Okay. And we'll be focusing today obviously on your election  
24 responsibilities. And in regard to elections, what are -- what could have been some of  
25 your priorities as secretary of state regarding elections?

1           A     When I took office in January 2019, number one is to secure new voting  
2     machines with a verifiable paper ballot due to a court order that we could not use the old  
3     DRE machines anymore. And then part of that was to be able to join the Electronic  
4     Registration Information Center so we could update voter rolls objectively.

5           Q     Okay. So can you -- I know you're an engineer, but in layman's terms, can  
6     you sort of describe, with regard to the November 2020 election in particular, how the  
7     mechanics of voting worked both for in-person voting, and then, secondly, for absentee  
8     ballots?

9                 So if you're a typical voter, you go in. Just describe for us what the machine is  
10    like and what a voter would do.

11          A     So if you showed up to vote in the fall election of 2020, we had the new  
12    verifiable paper ballot. So if you showed up to vote, you would, first of all, have a new  
13    poll pad. And the poll pad is not connected to any other piece of equipment, but they're  
14    really to sign you in. And then you would get your little card, which now has been  
15    activated, which then you walk over several steps to the ballot marking device.

16                 The ballot marking device was a machine that does not record any information,  
17    but, in effect, will show you all the selections on the screen. It looked like a giant 11 by  
18    17 iPad, so to speak. You made all your selections, verified your selections. And then  
19    you could go ahead, once you verified your selections, print the ballot.

20                 Then that machine, in effect, was just to print the ballot. It was not connected to  
21    the internet or anything else like that.

22                 You then would have your paper ballot. You could review your paper ballot.  
23    You walk that over to the scanner, put that on the scanner, and then press the button,  
24    and that's when your ballot would be scanned.

25          Q     And then what happens after that?

1 Q Okay. So in advance of the November 3rd, 2020, election, the Trump  
2 campaign did not complain about any allegations of fraud or failure to follow State law or  
3 anything like that?

4 A Not that I recall.

5 [REDACTED] I'll pause here.

6 [REDACTED] Yeah, just a couple followups.

7 BY [REDACTED]:

8 Q You said something earlier, Mr. Secretary, about no-excuse absentee ballot.  
9 Do I correctly understand that to mean the voter didn't need a reason, didn't need an  
10 illness or a professional commitment to get an absentee ballot, he or she could get  
11 it regardless?

12 A Correct. That's current State law.

13 Q Okay. And that, is that a change from the way it used to be, or has it  
14 always been that way?

15 A It's always been that since it was put into effect in 2005. It was signed into  
16 law by Governor Sonny Perdue.

17 Q I see. So a voter had three options, either an absentee ballot without  
18 necessary -- necessarily having a reason, an early in-person vote, or just like the  
19 old-fashioned way, going to a polling place on election day.

20 A Correct.

21 Q I see. But all three of those ballots -- each three of those choices generated  
22 a paper ballot for that voter.

23 A Correct.

24 Q And it went through one of those scanning machines.

25 A Correct.

1           Q    I see. So every ballot in the State of Georgia, regardless of the mode of  
2           transmission, generated a paper record and went through one of the same kinds of  
3           machines?

4           A    Correct.

5           Q    And it sounds like what you said earlier is that those machines were new  
6           after the 2018 election.

7           A    Yes.

8           Q    You replaced the old ones that didn't generate a paper ballot with new ones  
9           that did. Is that right?

10          A    Correct. It was the fastest and the largest implementation of new voting  
11          machines in the entire country.

12          Q    Yeah. And that was true, Mr. Secretary, across the State, every county --

13          A    Every single county had new machines --

14          Q    Okay.

15          A    -- purchased by the State of Georgia.

16          Q    Purchased by the State. I see. So it sounds to me like whatever  
17          happened in 2018 and the litigation that resulted made the 2020 election a lot more  
18          secure, in your view.

19          A    Having a verifiable paper ballot is one of the best implementations that  
20          every State could make, and we made it in Georgia.

21          Q    And just tell us generally why that makes it more reliable or safer, having a  
22          generated paper ballot for each voter.

23          A    Because if you want to do a 100 percent hand recount, you now have a piece  
24          of paper that you can hand recount. With using the old DRE machines, all you could do  
25          was press the button and you would get the same answer.

1 Q I see.

2 A But this way, you could verify through the paper who people voted for.

3 Q Got it. So you've got the machine flash drive electronic counts, but then  
4 you have a fail-safe, which is the actual paper ballots that could be hand recounted.

5 A Correct.

6 Q And that's new for 2020, didn't exist prior to that back in your election in  
7 2018 or prior election.

8 A Correct.

9 Q Okay.

10 BY [REDACTED]:

11 Q Could you tell us a little bit about the process of selecting Dominion with  
12 their RFP process? How did that work?

13 A We had an RFP process. We were on a fast track because we had to get  
14 this in place for the first election, the Presidential primary of 2020, because of court  
15 order.

16 So we began the RFP process. It was a five-member team. We had someone  
17 from the disability community. We had someone from the tech community so we could  
18 look at the tech basis. My deputy secretary of state was on that committee, and we had  
19 two other individuals. I was not on that.

20 They went through a point system, and they evaluated companies on qualitative  
21 and quantitative. Qualitative accounted for 75 percent of the score. Quantitative,  
22 which was price, counted for 25 percent of the score.

23 Dominion scored very strongly on the price. They're much more economical  
24 than the other systems. On the qualitative, they were close to another one, but there  
25 was another company. But when you added it all up, Dominion was the low apparent



1 get together for meetings and have conversations. So we look at best practices, and we  
2 see what other States are doing.

3 Q And, if another State had found widespread problems with Dominion Voting  
4 Systems, do you think they would've brought that to your attention?

5 A I think the entire world would've brought that to our attention.

6 Q Okay. Did you talk to secretaries of state from other States regarding  
7 Dominion Voting Systems?

8 A Not really so much. Kyle Ardoin is secretary of state of Louisiana; they use  
9 Dominion. He's now the president of NAS, the National Association of Secretaries of  
10 State. And so he faced some of these same issues that we did about the reliability of the  
11 machines, even though that State went, you know, 60/40 for President Trump.

12 Q Did he say whether he looked into those issues and, if so, what he found?

13 A No, I don't recall that, anything specific.

14 Q But I assume he did not say anything that would cause you to have --

15 A No.

16 Q -- a lack of confidence in Dominion?

17 A Correct.

18 Q And I know you've covered some of this before, but are the Dominion Voting  
19 Systems machines used in Georgia connected to the internet?

20 A No, they are not.

21 Q Okay.

22 [REDACTED] To follow up on that, you said, Secretary Raffensperger, that they  
23 generate data onto a flash drive that is specific to that machine?

24 Mr. Raffensperger. Right.

25 [REDACTED] They're not connected to each other or to some central source?

1           Mr. Raffensperger. Right. It's really just, you have two flash drives so that you  
2       have two sources. In case something happened to a flash drive, you'd always have a  
3       backup.

4           [REDACTED] Yeah.

5           BY [REDACTED]

6           Q And could anybody have tampered with those flash drives?

7           A No.

8           Q I mean, is it something where somebody could've come in and switched out  
9       the flash drives?

10          A There would be a record of that on the forensic back end. And we did a  
11       forensic audit of the -- Pro V&V did a forensic audit of a sample size of the machines  
12       post-election.

13          Q And then, in addition to that, having the two flash drives for the machine, as  
14       you said earlier, there's then, of course, the paper record, which is the most reliable of all.

15          A Correct.

16          [REDACTED] So they're really more like a calculator than a computer. In other  
17       words --

18          Mr. Raffensperger. Correct.

19          [REDACTED] -- they sort of tabulate stuff just within that individual box, that  
20       machine, but do not, like a computer, connect to other boxes or other machines.

21          Mr. Raffensperger. Correct. It's an adding machine.

22          [REDACTED] Yeah.

23          BY [REDACTED]

24          Q Is there any way that they could be hacked?

25          A They haven't been.

1 Q I mean, if they're not connected to the internet --

2 A They're not connected to the internet.

3 Q -- is there any way that you can think of where that could happen, where  
4 they could be hacked?

5 A The machines are secured, and they're always, you know, identified that you  
6 have security, you know, tape on it, you know, so that you know that, if you broke it,  
7 broke the seal, that someone could've been in there. And so there was never any  
8 evidence of that that we are aware of.

9 Q Okay.

10 [REDACTED] Any members have questions so far?

11 Mr. Schiff. I do not. Thank you.

12 [REDACTED] Great.

13 BY [REDACTED]

14 Q So let's turn your attention to exhibit 6 now in your binder. This one, at the  
15 top, it says, "Administration of Donald J. Trump, 2020, Remarks During a Video  
16 Teleconference With United States Servicemembers and Exchange With Reporters,  
17 November 26, 2020."

18 He says at the beginning, "Happy Thanksgiving," so this appears to be President  
19 Trump's Thanksgiving address to servicemembers. And there were reporters there.  
20 There's, you know, a lengthy discussion of, you know, thanking the troops, which I won't  
21 cover.

22 But I would turn your attention to page 6, and about three-quarters of the way  
23 down the page there's a question. Question: "Mr. President, do you have any big  
24 plans for your last Thanksgiving at the White House?"

25 You can see, then, the reference to it being the last Thanksgiving at the